REPORT

ON THE CONDITION OF THE

PEOPLE OF COLOR

IN THE STATE OF OHIO.

From the Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Putnam, on the 22d, 23d, and 24th of April, 1835.

The Committee to whom was referred the condition of the People of Color, in this State, presented the following REPORT:

THAT it is impossible, from the limited materials which we have been able to collect, to present to this Convention a satisfactory view of the condition of this people as a whole; but we have been able to obtain a very full account of their circumstances in Cincinnati, and in Brown county; and, as these united, are believed to constitute nearly one half of the colored people in the state, and moreover, as among them are found all the circumstances which can be supposed to modify their social, moral, and intellectual character, we think we may with confidence adopt the information respecting *these*, as the basis of our opinions respecting the whole class.

The estimate which we make of the number of Colored People in this state is only an approximation to the truth. We set down their number at 7500, of whom one-third or 2500 are in Cincinnati,—700 in two settlements in Brown county, and the remaining 4300 scattered in the principal towns in this state.

A majority of the adults it is supposed were born in slavery. Many of them have gained their freedom by paying for themselves the market value.

The statement of the fact that they were so born and trained, will serve instead of a volume, to inform this Convention what must be their condition. As a class we find them ignorant—many of them intemperate and vicious. Intemperance, gaming, and lewdness are the vices prevalent among them where they are located, near the navigable waters and great thoroughfares of commerce.

In order to determine their relative condition when compared with white people, we need a standard which does not exist. We must find a class of citizens who, like them, have been systematically deprived of instruction in science—who have been denied the protection of law, debarred the pursuit of lucrative employment—who have never felt the magnet influence which a hope of elevation in society exerts in others, drawing them out to effort in the field of honorable emulation. But as we have no such class among us, we must compare them with the lowest class of our white population; if we could select from our white population those who have been abandoned of their parents to the influence of every vile example, and left to the unrestrained pursuit of every vile indulgence, still we should have a class who were more eligibly circumstanced than the colored people. Great injustice is done them by comparing them with the whole community, and pronouncing a condemnation upon them as vicious and degraded, beyond remedy, from the data thus unfairly gained.

There are some peculiarities about the Colored People which we think it proper to notice. They endure with more patience the scorn and wrong under which they are pressed down—are more grateful for the favors which they receive—more tractable than persons of like information and intelligence among the whites. In addition to this, we have inquired, and do not know of an exception to this remark,—they are all anxious to have their children taught and to learn themselves, and are willing to pay for instruction.

They have churches of their own in several places, as Cincinnati, Chillicothe, Zanesville, Stark, and Brown counties.

We regret that instead of seeking to gain freeholds, and depending upon farming for a subsistence, they congregate in towns and become day laborers, barbers, and menial servants.

The cause of temperance has lately made encouraging progress among them, though its influence by no means predominates. In a settlement in Stark county, where there are three hundred colored people, mostly farmers, twenty men own farms of from twenty to thirty acres each—they have a meeting-house

and school-house, and abstain, with few exceptions, from intoxicating drinks. The information which we have gained concerning this settlement, shows them to be most orderly and exemplary citizens.

Sixteen years ago, Mr. Guess, an English gentleman, released by will, a large family of slaves, concerning whom Gov. Trimble, then in Virginia, wrote to his friends in Ohio 'that the most vicious and degraded family of blacks in Virginia were coming to reside among them,' and provided land for them in Brown county. Their location is known by the designation 'The Camps,' upper and lower; they now number 700. A school has has been sustained for eight months in the upper settlement, and is now suspended for lack of funds. The success was encouraging. A temperance society exists among them of thirty members.

The heads of families have all been slaves. Their land is poor and wet, and holds out no inducement to cultivate it. Consequently the young men and women seek employment in steam-boats, where they contract bad habits, and returning, exert an influence to vitiate the morals of their settlement. These settlements, even in their degradation, furnish evidence that little fear is to be entertained on the score of amalgamation, where law protects chastity. In the sixteen years since their settlement, only two mulatto children have been born among this population.

The laws of the State, beside many other injurious discriminations, shut them out from the school fund, and hedge up their way to those more lucrative and mental employments which are open to others.

Notwithstanding this, we find among this people, a latent intellect, not a whit behind that of white citizens, a docility and readiness to be benefited which invites effort in their behalf, and a state of morals, discouraging indeed to those who look to mere human agency to correct and elevate; but full of the highest stimulus to those whose confidence is in God and the power of his gospel.

The Anti-Slavery Society, late of Lane Seminary, appointed a Committee in March last, to inquire into the condition of the Colored People of Cincinnati. For the following statement, exhibiting the result of their investigation, we are indebted to them. Mr. Wattles, whose personal examination secured the facts here stated, is the superintendent of the colored schools in that city.

STATEMENT IN REGARD TO CINCINNATI.

In the spring of 1829, an effort was made to enlist the citizens of Cincinnati in the plan of removing the free people of color from the United States. This effort was vigorous and protracted. Whatever were the *motives* which prompted the effort, its particular *effect* was to excite the powerful against the weak, to countenance the lowest class of whites in persecuting the victims of public scorn and contempt.

The township trustees issued a *proclamation* that every colored man who did not fulfil the requirements of the law in thirty days should leave the city. The law here referred to had lain a dead letter since it passed the Ohio Legislature, in 1807. It provided, that every negro or mulatto person should enter into bonds with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of $500, conditioned for the good behavior and support of such negro or mulatto person, if they should be found in the state, unable to support themselves. It also made it the duty of the overseers of the poor, to remove all such persons as did not comply with the above laws, in the same manner as is required in the case of paupers.

Another section of the same law provided that any person, who should employ, harbor, or conceal any such negro or mulatto person, should for every such offence, forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, and be liable for their maintenance and support, should they ever be unable to support themselves. This proclamation was fully sustained and urged into execution by the public sentiment of the city. The colored people immediately held a meeting to consider what should be done. They petitioned the city authorities for permission to remain thirty days longer, and forthwith sent a committee to Canada to see what provisions could be made for them there. The sixty days expired before their return.

The populace finding that few, if any, gave security, and seeing no movement made, became exasperated, and determined to expel them by force. For three nights the fury of the mob was let loose upon them. They applied in vain to the city authorities for protection. Despairing of succor from the whites, they barricaded their houses and defended themselves. Some of their assailants were killed and the mob at last retired.

The deputation to Canada returned with a favorable answer. The reply of Sir James Colebrook, Governor of Upper Canada, is characteristic of a noble minded man. 'Tell the Republicans,' said he, 'on your side of the line, that we royalists do not know *men* by their color. Should you come to us, you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of his Majesty's subjects.'

On the receipt of this grateful intelligence a large number removed to Canada, and formed what is called the Wilberforce Settlement. It cannot be ascertained, definitely, how many went to Canada. But, one of the two men, who took the census a short time previous to the excitement, states, that the colored people numbered 2200. About three years after, the same gentleman assisted in taking the

census again, when they numbered only 1100. 'This,' he added, 'is not guess-work, but matter of fact.'

The wrongs suffered by those who remained behind, either from inability to remove, or other causes, cannot well be imagined. The mechanical associations combined against them. Public schools were closed by law, and prejudice excluded them entirely from such as were selected. A general desire among the white population that they should remove to Liberia, or elsewhere, rendered the operation of these laws too effective. They were by no means a dead letter. One or two facts will be sufficient.

A respectable master mechanic stated to us, a few days since, that, in 1830, the President of the Mechanical Association, was publicly tried by the Society, for the crime of assisting a colored young man to learn a trade. Such was the feeling among the mechanics, that no colored boy could learn a trade or colored journeyman find employment. A young man of our acquaintance, of unexceptionable character and an excellent workman, purchased his freedom and learned the cabinet making business in Kentucky. On coming to this city, he was refused work by every man to whom he applied. At last he found a shop, carried on by an Englishman, who agreed to employ him—but on entering the shop, the workmen threw down their tools, and declared that he should leave or they would. '*They would never work with a nigger.*' The unfortunate youth was accordingly dismissed.

In this extremity, having spent his last cent, he found a slaveholder who gave him employment in an iron store as a common laborer. Here he remained two years, when the gentleman finding he was a mechanic, exerted his influence and procured work for him as a rough carpenter. This man by dint of perseverance and industry has now become a master workman, employing at times, six or eight journeymen. But he tells us he has not yet received a single job of work from a native born citizen of a free state. This oppression of the mechanics still continues. One of the boys of our school last summer, sought in vain for a place in this city to learn a trade. In hopes of better success, his brother went with him to New-Orleans, when he readily found a situation. Multitudes of common laborers at the time alluded to above were immediately turned out of employment, and many have told us that they were compelled to resort to dishonorable occupations or starve. One fact—a clergyman told one of his laborers who was also a member of his church, that he could employ him no longer, for the laws forbade it. The poor man went out and sought employment elsewhere to keep his family from starving, but he sought in vain, and returned in despair to the minister to ask his advice. The only reply he received was, 'I cannot help you, you must go to Liberia.'

This combined oppression of public sentiment and law reduced the colored people to extreme misery. No colored man could be a drayman or porter without subjecting his employer to a heavy penalty, and few employers had the courage or disposition to risk its infliction. Many families, as we *know*, have for years been supported by the mothers or female part of the family. This they have done by going out at washing, or performing other drudgery which no one else could be procured to do.

The schools, both common and select, remain shut against them to the present day, although they have always paid their full proportion of taxes for all public objects.* A short time since, it was discovered by a master of the common school, a presbyterian elder, that three or four children who attended had a colored woman for a mother. Although the complexion of these children is such that no one could distinguish them amongst a company of whites, they were told that they could not stay in school, and were sent home to their parents.

The law not only placed the colored population in a situation where they must remain in ignorance and deprived them of the means of procuring an honest living, but it went still further and took from them their oath in courts of justice in any case where a white person was one of the parties. Thus they were placed by law at the mercy of their cruel persecutors. A few cases have accidentally fallen under our own observation. Last spring a colored man had his house broken into and property to a considerable amount stolen. The evidence was entirely conclusive, as one of the thieves turned State's evidence, and confessed the whole. At the court, one of the pleas put in by the counsel was, that neither the oath of the man nor that of his family could be taken to prove the property to be his. The jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*, and the robbers were cleared.

At the same court a white man was arraigned for murdering a colored man. The case was a plain one,—eight or ten men who were standing near, saw the murder. Only two of them, however, were white. On the day of trial one of the white men could not be found. The testimony of the other was received, while that of the colored men, though equally respectable, was refused. As

* In the new city charter obtained in 1834, a provision is made that the colored people shall receive the amount of their school taxes in tuition. But as yet, so far as our knowledge extends, they have received no benefit from this provision.

it was a capital crime, where two witnesses were necessary, the murderer escaped unpunished. Subject to such disabilities, is it strange that this population should be ignorant and degraded? Especially when we remember that nearly one half of them were formerly in bondage. They have grown up under its blighting influences. The charge is *true, they are a degraded people.* But this charge, true as it is, should not make them objects of contempt. It is the proof that they have *minds*, and are susceptible of moral influence. We wonder, as we sometimes sit and listen to their tale of sufferings and of woe, that black despair has not entirely palsied every energy. To those acquainted with the system of slavery, it is known that not only law but even brute force is frequently exerted to prevent the dawn of intellect. Said a colored woman to us the other day, "When I was little, I used to long to read. After prayers, master would often leave the bible and hymn book on the stand, and I would sometimes open them to see if the letters would not tell me something. When he came in and catched me looking in them, he would always strike me and sometimes knock me down."

In September, 1832, a Sunday school was collected which now numbers 125 scholars; soon after a lyceum was established, where, up to the present time, lectures on scientific and literary subjects have been delivered twice a week, to an audience of from 150 to 300 persons. A library of about 100 volumes was collected, which however, from the inability of the people to read, has as yet been but little used. Arrangements were made for a school, but was delayed for some time by the difficulty of procuring a house for such a purpose. At length, a small tenement was rented of a colored man, and the school commenced on the first of March, 1834. When this school was opened, it was immediately crowded to overflowing with children and adults. The house not being large enough to contain them, sixty small children were admitted at 9 o'clock in the morning. After reading and spelling around, they were dismissed and the house was filled again by the larger and grown persons, who went through the same exercises. These classes returned in the afternoon in the same order, and again recited lessons in reading and spelling. At this time, probably one half of them, old and young, did not know their letters.

The clamor of the adults for admittance made it necessary to open an evening school for their benefit. This was held three evenings in a week, and fully attended. Five or six individuals engaged in teaching each evening. This evening school, when the students left the Lane Seminary, was discontinued for want of teachers.

In consequence of the crowd at the day school, another house and teacher were procured and the school divided. At the beginning of the second quarter another division was made, and two additional schools commenced, one for young ladies and the other for the small children. These two last are taught by ladies. The four schools above described are still in operation, numbering at present 250 pupils, and exhibiting, so far as we can discover, the same eagerness to learn as when they first commenced. Two teachers are engaged in the young ladies' school, and two in the school for small children; all of them are females. The young ladies who are engaged in these schools are all of them thoroughly qualified to fill any department of female instruction. Just before they devoted themselves to this work, two of them were urgently solicited to take charge of a female seminary of high character in Tennessee, with an offer to each of five hundred dollars a year. This offer was renewed with importunity after their arrival in Cincinnati, but they again declined it, choosing rather to instruct the despised, the oppressed, and forsaken, sharing with them the burden of their woes.

In the ladies' school, which now numbers about eighty scholars, work has been introduced, and nearly all are now employed two hours a day in various kinds of needle-work. This was found to be a necessary part of their education, as before they had known how to do little else than the most laborious kind of house work.

In regard to the improvement of these schools, our expectations have been more than realized. The uniform testimony of the teachers in regard to their pupils is, that they have never seen their superiors, although they have taught years in other places. Individuals who have visited the schools have expressed much surprise at the mental activity, and rapid advancement which they have discovered.* A few specific facts here, may

---

* Extract of a letter from Mr. F. A. Sayre, for nine years a teacher of one of the public schools in Cincinnati.

"Facts have been developed in the progress of the day schools and Sunday schools here, which have made me believe that the colored people are not only equal to white people, in natural capacity to be taught, but that they exceed them—they do not receive instruction, they seize it as a person who has been long famishing for food, seizes the smallest crumb.

"I several times visited the different schools for colored children, and have always been gratified to observe the good order and attention to study which the pupils manifest, and, particularly, with the affection with which they regard their teachers. I have, however, known more particularly the school for boys which Brother W. teaches; there I have seen boys of from nine to twelve years of age, who had

not be out of place. Rhoda Carr, a girl who had been a slave, and who had purchased her freedom, having in some way heard of our schools, came five hundred miles that she might attend them. She entered not knowing her letters—in four weeks her reading book was the Testament. Priestly, a boy aged ten, learned his letters in four days. He commenced last June, and is now a good reader, and well advanced in arithmetic. Charles, another boy ten years old, at the second quarter had gone through Ray's arithmetic, and could do any sum which the book contained. The children generally of eight and ten years of age, who commenced with their letters, can now spell any where in the spelling book. Fifty are now attending to geography, thirty to English grammar, forty to arithmetic, and twelve to history, some of whom are well advanced. True, some who attend our schools are stupid and dull, as is the case with every collection of children; but with the majority, the fact is far otherwise. Sixty or eighty lines in history are frequently repeated for a morning lesson, with perfect accuracy, and on inquiring of the boys how long they sat up last night, the reply with some is "till ten, eleven, or twelve o'clock," and with others, "till we burned the candle out."

The remembrance of friends still in bondage, presses heavily on their hearts. It is even with the small children a powerful stimulus to effort. In order to show clearly the character of this influence, it may not be out of place to permit the children to speak for themselves. Not long since, the pupils were requested to write compositions. As this was new business, they inquired what they were to write about? The answer was, "What you think *most* about."

The following are specimens of the compositions:

1st. Dear school-mates, we are going next summer to buy a farm and to work part of the day and to study the other part if we live to see it and come home part of the day to see our mothers and sisters and cousins if we are got any and see our kind folks and to be good boys and when we get a man to get the poor slaves from bondage. And I am sorrow to hear that the boat of Tiskilwa went down with two hundred poor slaves from up the river. Oh how sorrow I am to hear that, it grieves my soul so that I could faint in one minute.

—— ——, aged seven years.

2d. Dear school-master, I now inform you in these few lines, that what we are studying for is to try to get the yoke of slavery broke and the chains parted asunder and slave holding cease for ever. O that God would change the hearts of our fellow men.

—— ——, aged twelve years.

3d. In my youthful days dear Lord, let me remember my creator, Lord. Teach me to do his will. Bless the cause of abolition—bless the heralds of the truth that we trust God has sent out to declare the rights of man. We trust that it may be the means of moving mountains of sin off all the families. My mother and stepfather, my sister and myself we were all born in slavery. The Lord did let the oppressed go free. Roll on the happy period that all nations shall know the Lord. We thank him for his many blessings.

—— ——, aged eleven years.

4th. Dear Sir.—This is to inform you that I have two cousins in slavery who are entitled to their freedom. They have done every thing that the will requires and now they wont let them go. They talk of selling them down the river. If this was your case what would you do? Please give me your advice.

—— ——, aged ten years.

5th. Let us look back and see the state in which the Britons and Saxons and Germans lived. They had no learning and had not a knowledge of letters. But now look, some of them are our first men. Look at king Alfred and see what a great man he was. He at one time did not know his a, b, c, but before his death he commanded armies and nations. He was never discouraged but always looked forward and studied the harder. I think if the colored people study like king Alfred they will soon do away the evil of slavery. I cant see how the Americans can call this a land of freedom where so much slavery is.

—— ——, aged sixteen years.

These compositions with others were handed to the teacher, who put them in his pocket, without any thought of preserving them or showing them to any one. When it was thought best to insert them here, he took them from his pocket without any selection, and wrote them just in the order they came to hand. They are a fair transcript of our pupils' hearts. It is not strange that the subject of slavery should so deeply affect them, when it is remembered that nearly all, who attend our schools, have friends now in bondage. Some have a father or a mother—some brothers and sisters, and others have dear

---

learned the alphabet within a year, who were able to exhibit to advantage in reading and spelling, to write legibly, to recite long lessons in History, which they had been a short time studying, and to undergo an examination in Arithmetic, which, when I first witnessed it, perfectly astonished me. I have taught common schools for about fifteen years at intervals, and have visited many taught by others, and I must candidly say, that I have never been acquainted with one which, for rapid progress in the different studies pursued, and for the interest manifested by the pupils, could be compared with this, nor have I ever seen so much good feeling in the intercourse of teacher and pupils."

children, whom they have left at the mercy of the task-master. They know their woes from sad experience. They think of their sufferings, they listen to their groans, and they feel. Again and again as the slave has been mentioned, have we heard from one and another the heavy groan,—have seen the heaving bosom and the trickling tear, and teacher and pupil have wept together. We *know* on this subject what cannot be expressed in *words*.

Those who have friends in slavery, live in continual dread and anxiety, lest they should be sold and taken down the river. This solicitude, either like a canker preys upon their energies, gnaws away the springs of human effort, or if their minds are of that stern material that will give up the ghost sooner than yield, it operates as a continual goad, and urges them on to efforts almost superhuman

It is common for boats loaded with slaves, to stop at Cincinnati, and it frequently happens that the friends and relations of the pupils are in chains, on board. A few days since, a colored man came into one of the schools and said, he believed there was some person present who had friends on board a boat, going down the river. On mentioning the name of their owners, a woman on the farther side of the house immediately exclaimed, 'Oh, they've come,' and fell senseless. A friend who sat near, caught her in her arms, and for some time she lay apparently lifeless. Then, at intervals, a deep groan would burst from her agonized bosom. When she revived, a flood of tears came to her relief. '*I must see them*,' said she,—and hardly able to support herself, she left the house. 'These farewell scenes are worse than funerals,—they cannot be described,'—said a man to us a few days since, whose children had been sent down the river,—'I'd rather have seen them die. It broke my heart.' The expression is common, that they had rather hear that their friends are dead, than that they are sold down the river.

Probably three-fourths of the whole number now in the schools, are either now slaves, have been slaves, or are the children of slave parents. Those who are now in slavery, have obtained permission from their masters, to come to a free state to work out their freedom. They are very anxious to learn, and when they cannot find work, come into school. One man, about thirty-five years of age, is very patiently trying to learn his letters; but says he can't come when he can get work. He is to pay his master, in Kentucky, $700. Twenty of which, within a few weeks, he has earned and paid over. Another, a pious widow, aged 60, is making the same effort. She says, if she can only get so as to read in the testament, she will be satisfied. By her efforts at washing she has paid $50 to her master, but has yet one hundred more to pay. Doubtless she will sink into the grave before her task is accomplished.

Calling upon a family not long since, whose children did not come to school very regularly, we found the father and mother were out at work. On saying to the eldest child, aged about ten years, 'why don't you come to school, my girl?' She replied—'I'm staying at home to help buy father.'

As this family attend the sabbath school, we will state some particulars respecting them, to illustrate a general fact. Their history is, by no means, a remarkable one. Conversing with them one day, they remarked: 'We have been wonderfully blessed; not one in a hundred is treated so well as we have been.' A few years since, the mother, an amiable woman, intelligent, pious, and beloved by all who knew her, was emancipated. But she lived in continual dread lest her husband, who was still a slave, should be sold and separated from her forever. After much painful solicitation, his master permitted him to come to Cincinnati, to work out his freedom. Although under no obligation, except his verbal promise, he is now, besides supporting a sickly family, saving from his daily wages the means of paying the price of his body. The money is sent to a nephew of his master, who is now studying for the ministry, in Miami University. The following is an extract from the correspondence of this candidate for the ministry. It is addressed to this colored man.

'Mr. Overton:

Sir, I have an order on you for $150, from your old master. It is in consideration of your dues to him for your freedom. I am in great want of the money, and have been for some time. I shall only ask you 10 per cent interest, although 12 is common. The money has been due two months. If you cannot pay it before the last of March, I shall have to return the order to Uncle Jo,—for I cannot wait longer than that time. It must also run at 12 per cent interest henceforth. If you cannot pay it all, write to me, and let me know when you can. Uncle Jo requests me to let him know when you would have any more money for him. Yours, in haste.'

This is only one of a series of dunning letters which came every few weeks. Soon after the reception of this, Mr. Overton scraped together the pittance he had earned, and sent the young man $100, with interest. And he is now going out at day's work, and his wife, when able, is taking in washing, to pay the balance. They have two sons still in slavery. The mother, when emancipated, had the privilege of choosing masters for these children. She selected two men in whom she had confidence, and who were remarkable for their kindness to their slaves. They purchased the boys for $200 each, promising the mother,

that if she should ever procure the means, she might redeem them at the same price. This, said she, was the last thing they said to me as I got into the stage to come away, while the children were clinging to me, and screaming to come along. The following is the copy of a letter she has just received from one of these men. It shows how coolly 'kind masters' can trifle with the feelings of an affectionate and anxious mother.

'STANTON, Va., March, 1835.

To Mrs. Rebecca Overton:

Yours of the 4th instant, I received on the 14th, and now answer your letter according to your request. You say you are anxious for your sons to be where you are, and a friend of yours is willing to advance the price I bought him at. I am not yet determined to sell. Mr. ——— says he will sell his boy, but must have for him $300. The one I have you know is the youngest, but almost as large, and of the *two* I should prefer mine. Either of them, now, is capable of doing house work or taking care of a horse. Both of the boys are perfectly healthy, and at this time would hire for $30 a year, and every year they would be getting more valuable if they lived. The friend you speak of can get Mr. ———'s at the same price, so he has just informed me. I do not feel disposed to part with mine, for I am well convinced I could not get one that would *suit me* better, or even as well,—but as it is for you, I might part with him, he is good disposed and his character good.'

On reading this letter to Mrs. Overton, she said, 'I see what he wants. He is willing to sell, but wants we should pay him the other $100.' The following tantalizing postscript is appended to the letter:

'Your sons requested me to tell you, they are well, and should be glad to see you; and further they desire their love to their sisters and brothers,—and are anxious to live with you, or nearer than at present, *if it could be so ordered.*'

We have inserted this case thus at length, to show how all the social sympathies of these people have been mocked, and their tenderest sensibilities outraged. Still we see them bearing up under these accumulated wrongs, and struggling onward with a vigor, truly astonishing.

One man has just finished paying for himself, wife and babe, $650. For a little son who attends school with him, 'I paid,' said he, 'a hundred silver dollars, when he was three years old.' He has done all this by rigid self-denial and persevering industry. For two children yet in bondage, one 9 and the other 11 years of age, he has offered $450, but their owner refuses to sell. Another man in school, paid $1000 in cash for his own body. A number of females have paid 200 and 300 dollars for themselves. They earned it entirely by their own efforts, principally by washing. These girls now go out at washing two days of the week, in order to support themselves in school the remainder of the time. More than thirty females are now getting their education and supporting themselves in this way. Mr. Ralls paid $1130 for his wife and two daughters. They are all now constant attendants at school. We might go on in this way through our catalogue, but we forbear, lest we should be tedious. The above facts are sufficient as a specimen, to show the material of which the schools are composed.

The people had long groped their way in darkness, and as long had prayed for light. But such a transition from the midnight of despair, to the sunlight of hope, was too much for some of them to bear. One pious mother, was delirious with joy for more than a week, at the bright prospect for her children. Said she, 'many times I have lain awake all night, and prayed for just such things, but when they came, I could'nt stand it.' One of the most intelligent and strong minded of the colored men, was absent from the city till in the summer, and had heard not a word of what was going on amongst the colored people. The first evening of his return, he attended one of the lectures. Said he, 'I was in a perfect maze, to see a man get up, and speak to a colored congregation on such subjects,—to hear such sentiments from white men,—to have them talk in such a way to *us*,—was too much for me to believe. I thought I was dreaming. I would jog my neighbor to see if I was awake; take out my knife and cut the bench; take up the shavings and pick them to pieces;—and after all I could'nt convince myself that I was awake. I would come into the schools during the day,—sit and look on till I was ready to burst into tears,—then get up and go out, and say to myself, is this reality, or is it a dream? Am I really awake? No, it can't be true,—it is all a delusion. And thus I was several days.'

Said a woman, lately from Virginia, 'If we should go back and tell of our advantages, and how we have the white people to teach us, and how they treat us like brothers,—they could'nt believe us. There is a heap of people that wouldn't believe a word we said. We had no idea of it before we came. It is just like changing out of one world into another.'

The gratitude which at times flows out from their *full, warm* hearts, is rich in blessing, and lightens all our labors.

The schools have suffered no little inconvenience from not having suitable rooms. Two of them have been taught in churches, and two in private dweling-houses. It is expected, however, that a house will be built this year, sufficiently large to accommodate two of the schools. The colored people have

according to their ability, contributed liberally to this object. They are also making an effort to pay, for the next year, a greater proportion of the expenses of the schools. The expenses for the past year have been $929. Of this the colored people contributed $250. The remainder was given by abolitionists, at the east, and elsewhere. 209 dollars of this sum has been expended for rent; 150 dollars for three temporary female teachers, and the remainder for books, fixtures, fuel, board of teachers, etc. In addition to the schools now in operation, another will commence on the first of June, for colored boatmen, and continue four months. Of this class of men, there are, during the summer, about 300; whose residence is in this city. As they are well known, and a majority of them active young men, their influence hitherto has been bad. Familiar, during eight months of the year, with all the vices of the river, it could not be expected that a four months' residence on the shore, would mend their manners or their morals. Especially when it is remembered that during the week, grog-shops, brothels, and gambling-houses, have been the only places open for their reception. Aside from the common hardships of a boatman's life, this class of our citizens suffer severe persecutions by coming in constant contact with slave laws. As there is danger of making our report too long, we will state only one fact.

A colored woman of our acquaintance came up on a boat this morning, who had been down the river to get her husband out of jail. He was a boatman on the lower waters, and his family resided in this city. Some two or three months since, while taking in wood, his leg was severely injured. He spent all his money in paying board and doctors' bills. As it healed very slowly, he became discouraged, and attempted to get home. He procured a passage, promising to pay when he arrived in Cincinnati. But on getting up to the falls, at Louisville, the boat could not pass. He then left his free papers with the captain as security, and took passage on another boat. When they came for his passage money, he told them of his misfortunes and his poverty. His story was not credited, and they demanded his free papers. These, of course, he was unable to produce. He was accordingly set on shore, and thrust into a Kentucky jail. Here he remained four weeks, and would have been sold to pay the jail fees, had he not found means to send to his wife, who went immediately to his relief.

Great good may justly be anticipated from such a school. These boatmen traverse all our navigable waters: the Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee, Kenhawa, Illinois, Wabash, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, White, Red, Yazoo, and other rivers. If intelligent, industrious and sober, they would every where be letters of recommendation for all the colored people. Their influence, if directed aright, will tell powerfully, not only on the interests of the free colored man, but on the whole system of American oppression.

It is to be regretted that an accurate census of the colored population of Cincinnati, cannot be furnished. Such a census was commenced some months since, but owing to the pressure of other duties, has not been finished. It is a work of considerable labor as the people are scattered through all parts of the city, and large numbers of them are servants in white families. From the part gone over, we are able to form, as we believe, a tolerably accurate estimate of their numbers and general condition.

The number of colored people in Cincinnati, is about 2500. As illustrating their general condition, we will give the statistics of one or two small districts. The families in each, were visited from house to house, taking them all as far as we went:

Number of families in one of these districts,	26
" of individuals,	125
" of heads of families,	49
" of heads of families who are professors of religion,	19
" of children at school,	20
" of *heads of families* who have been slaves,	39
" of individuals who have been slaves,	95
Time since they obtained their freedom from 1 to 15 years, average. 7 years.	
Number of individuals who have purchased themselves,	23
Whole amount paid for themselves,	$9,112
Number of fathers and mothers still in slavery,	9
" of children,	18
" of brothers and sisters,	98
" of newspapers taken,	0
" of heads of families who can read,	2

EMPLOYMENT OF HEADS OF FAMILIES.

Common laborers and porters,	7
Dealers in second-hand clothing,	1
Hucksters,	1
Carpenters,	2
Shoe-blacks,	6
Cooks and Waiters,	11
Wash-women,	13

Five of these women purchased themselves from slavery. One paid $400 for herself, and has since bought a house and lot, worth $600. All this she has done by washing.

Another individual had bargained for his wife and two children. Their master agreed to take $420 for them. He succeeded at length in raising the money, which he carried to their owner. "I shall charge you $30 more than when you was here before," said the planter, "for your wife is in a family-way, and you may pay thirty dollars for that or not take her, just as you please." "And so," said he, (patting the head of a little son three years old, who hung upon his knee,) "I had to pay thirty dollars for this little fellow, six months before he was born."

Number of families in another district,	63
" of individuals,	253
" of heads of families,	106
" of families who are professors of religion,	16
" of heads of families at school,	53
" of newspapers taken,	7
Amount of property in real estate,	$9,850
Number of *individuals* who have been slaves,	163
" of *heads of families* who have been slaves,	69
Age at which they obtained their freedom, from 3 mos. to 60 yrs average 33 yrs.	
Time since they obtained their freedom, from 4 weeks to 27 years; average 9 years.	
Number of heads of families who have purchased themselves,	36
Whole amount paid for themselves,	$21,515 00
Average price,	597,64
Number of children which the same families have already purchased,	14
Whole amount paid for these children,	$2,425.75
Average price,	173,27
Total amount paid for these parents and children,	$23,940,75
Number of parents still in slavery,	16
" of husbands or wives,	7
" of children,	35
" of brothers and sisters,	144

These districts were visited without the least reference to their being exhibited separately. If they give a fair specimen of the whole population, (and we believe that to be a fact,) then we have the following results: 1,129 of the colored population of Cincinnati have been in slavery; 476 have purchased themselves at the total expense of $215,522,64, averaging for each $452 77; 163 parents are still in slavery; 68 husbands and wives; 346 children; 1,579 brothers and sisters.

There are a large number in the city who are now working out their own freedom,—their free papers being retained as security. One man of our acquaintance has just given his master seven notes of $100 dollars each, one of which he intends to pay every year, till he has paid them all; his master promises then to give him his free papers. After paying for himself, he intends to buy his wife and then his children. Others are buying their husbands or wives, and others again their parents or children. To show that on this subject they have sympathies like other people, we will state a single fact. A young man, after purchasing himself, earned $300. This sum he supposed was sufficient to purchase his aged mother, a widow, whom he had left in slavery five years before, in Virginia. Hearing that she was for sale, he started immediately to purchase her. But, after travelling 500 miles, and offering all his money, he was refused. Not because she was not for sale—nor because he did not offer her full value. She had four sons and daughters with her, and the planter thought he could do better to keep the family together and send them all down the river. In vain the affectionate son plead for his mother. The planter's heart was steel. He would not sell her, and with a heavy heart the young man returned to Cincinnati. He has since heard that they were sold in the New Orleans market, "*in lots to suit purchasers.*"

In regard to the general character of this people, it is perhaps unnecessary to add any thing to what has already been said. If we except the influence of uncommon persecution, that portion of them that were free born do not differ essentially from the colored population of other free states. Many families are in easy circumstances, and are well regulated. In some, the Sabbath is, emphatically, a day of rest; all the cooking, and other work, having been done on Saturday. With regard to the majority, however, their domestic arrangements are loose, and family government very much neglected. In this respect, however, they are improving. The teachers, especially the females, make it a part of their duty to visit the families, and impart such domestic and religious instruction as they think will be profitable. That portion of them who were born in slavery, are generally from that class of slaves who are *best treated*. This we know from observation, and from their own testimony. Such as were emancipated, we find, on inquiring, were usually favorite servants, or they had masters who liberated them at their death; and those who bought themselves, also had masters of a similar character. The permission to buy themselves, the slaves considered a great favor.

We mention these things to show that facts drawn from this portion of the colored population of Cincinnati, do not, by any means, give a partial and overwrought picture of slavery. All these people speak well of their masters, and say they were treated much better than those on other plantations. But *we* have often thought within ourselves when conversing with them—If these are the tender mercies of slavery, what are its cruelties? *One* of the accursed influences of slavery, they have felt with a severity known only to favorite servants—we mean licentiousness. Many facts might be given on this subject but we forbear, for want of time fully to exhibit this, its most loathsome feature. These manumitted slaves are from all parts of the south, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee; but principally from Kentucky and Virginia, and we notice in these some of the peculiarities of each section.

A considerable number whom we know, were kidnapped, and are acquainted by sad experience, with all the horrors of this internal traffic. We will mention a few cases:—Two sisters, who are now in our Sabbath school, and were free born, were stolen when young, together with three other sisters, and made slaves in Tennessee. After remaining in servitude more than thirty years, one of

them was emancipated, and the other purchased herself by paying $325. The other sisters are still in slavery, with twelve children. James Veech was kidnapped in Virginia,—kept in slavery in Tennessee, twenty years, obtained his freedom by paying $800. Ann, a young woman aged twenty-two, was kidnapped about a year and a half ago, in Richmond, Virginia. Her mother is a widow, and was formerly a slave. She hired her time, paying her master forty dollars a year, and finally succeeded in purchasing herself and babe for $880. She then commenced buying Ann. Urged on by the fond hope of rescuing an affectionate daughter from the grasp of the slave-holder, she had already earned and paid over $400. Ann was living at home, and there remained only $150 to be paid. But the industrious mother had toiled in vain. Passing along the street one evening, Ann was seized by the slave traders and thrust immediately into jail. She says, "I never spent such a night as that was; more than 300 were already in jail, and a number of others were afterwards brought in who were kidnapped the same evening. They were immediately chained together, and towards morning we were all taken on board the brig Tribune, Capt. Smith, bound for New Orleans. She had among her cargo, 15 persons whom they had kidnapped. This brig was owned by Ballard & Armfield, of Richmond. I was sold in New Orleans. About two months afterwards I saw the same brig come in again with another cargo of 200 slaves. After staying in New Orleans about one year, I obtained my freedom and came to Cincinnati."

A man who was born in Cincinnati, has just escaped from a servitude of twenty-six years. As he was uncommonly intelligent, he was often sold to prevent assistance from those who knew him. He started in February, when the ground was covered with snow and ice. These, for the first week, were his bed, and the pine trees his only covering. For three weeks he ate but one meal a day, and the third week this was only bread and water.

Mary Brown, another colored girl who was kidnapped in 1830, was the daughter of free parents in Washington city. She lived with her parents until the death of her mother; she was then seized and sold. The following are the facts as she stated them. One day when near the Potomac bridge, Mr. Humphreys the sheriff, overtook her, and told her that she must go with him.—She inquired of him what for? He made no reply, but told her to come along. He took her immediately to a slave auction. Mary told Mr. Humphreys that she was free, but he contradicted her, and the sale went on. The auctioneer soon found a purchaser, and struck her off for three hundred and fifty dollars. Her master was a Mississippi trader, and she was immediately taken to the jail. After a few hours, Mary was handcuffed,—chained to a man slave, and started in a drove of about forty for New Orleans. The handcuffs made her wrists swell so that they were obliged to take them off at night, and put fetters on her ankles. In the morning the handcuffs were again put on. Thus they travelled for two weeks, wading rivers, and whipped up all day, and beaten at night, if they did not get their distance. Mary says that she frequently waded rivers in her chains, with water up to her waist. It was in October, and the weather cold and frosty. After travelling thus twelve or fifteen days, her arms and ankles became so swollen that she felt that she could go no farther. Blisters would form on her feet as large as dollars, which at night she would have to open, while all day the shackles would cut into her lacerated wrists. They had no beds, and usually slept in barns, or out on the naked ground—was in such misery when she lay down that she could only lie and cry all night. Still they drove them on for another week. Her spirits became so depressed, and she grieved so much about leaving her friends, that she could not eat, and every time the trader caught her crying, he would beat her, accompanying it with dreadful curses. The trader would whip and curse any of them whom he found praying. One evening he caught one of the men at prayer—he took him, lashed him down to a parcel of rails, and beat him dreadfully. He told Mary that if he caught her praying, he would give her hell! (Mary was a member of the Methodist church in Washington.) There were a number of pious people in the company, and at night when the driver found them melancholy, and disposed to pray, he would have a fiddle brought, and make them dance in their chains. It mattered not how sad or weary they were, he would whip them until they *would* do it.

Mary at length became so weak, that she could travel no farther. Her feeble frame was exhausted and sunk beneath her accumulated sufferings. She was seized with a burning fever, and the trader fearing he should lose her, carried her the remainder of the way in a wagon.

When they arrived at Natchez, they were all offered for sale, and as Mary was still sick, she begged that she might be sold to a kind master. She would sometimes make this request in presence of purchasers—but was always insulted for it, and after they were gone the trader would punish her for such presumption. On one occasion he tied her up by her hands so that she could only touch the end of her toes to the floor. This was soon after breakfast; he kept her thus suspended, whipping her at intervals through the day—at evening he took her down. She was so much bruised that she could not lie down for more than a week afterwards. He often beat and

choked her for another purpose, until she was obliged to yield to his desires.

She was at length sold to a wealthy man of Vicksburg, at four hundred and fifty dollars, for a house servant. But he had another object in view. He compelled her to gratify his licentious passions, and had children by her. This was the occasion of much difficulty between him and his wife, and he has now sent her up to Cincinnati to be free.

We have no reason to doubt the account of Mary as given above. The person from whom we heard this, took it down from her own lips. Her manner of relating it was perfectly simple and artless, and is here written out almost verbatim. We have also the testimony of a number of individuals who knew her in Vicksburg; they have no doubt of her integrity, and say that we may rely implicitly upon the truth of any statement which she may make.

Persons are occasionally kidnapped in this city. Two young men, members of our school, were stolen last fall, but were soon rescued. When found, they were in irons on board a steam-boat. Other more aggravating cases might be mentioned.

The moral character and condition of this people, is, we believe, rapidly improving. There are three churches—two Methodist and one Baptist, numbering in all about four hundred and fifty members. In these churches there is preaching every Sabbath to full congregations. There are four Sabbath schools, with each a small library, and three Bible classes. These schools and classes are well attended by persons of all ages, and an uncommon desire to learn the truth of the Bible is manifested. A few we hope, have recently been born again. And with many there appears to be an increasing solicitude about their eternal welfare. Male and female prayer meetings are held by all the churches. The female prayer meetings are always crowded and full of interest. A female benevolent society, was organized a few months since, consisting of forty members. Their meetings are held regularly, and the time spent in working for the poor. A society for the relief of persons in distress, called the "Cincinnati Union Society," has been in operation for a number of years. It now numbers one hundred male members, and its yearly contributions are about two hundred and fifty dollars. Another society of a kindred character numbers about thirty. A temperance society on the principle of total abstinence was formed on the first of April. This was done after a course of lectures which were listened to by large audiences. At the two closing lectures one hundred and sixty-four pledged themselves to entire abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, including wine, cider, and all malt liquors, except on sacramental occasions, or when prescribed by a temperance physician, and also to do all in their power to prevent its use by others. Between that time and the organization of the society, the number increased to two hundred and twenty five, and a few names have been added since. Great good is anticipated from the influence of this society. A number of confirmed drunkards have told us they were "trying it." The society will have regular monthly meetings, when an address will be delivered by one of its members.

The demeanor of the colored population towards the whites, so far as we can discover, is respectful to all; and to their particular friends, it is marked with those peculiar testimonials of gratitude and esteem, which we should find it difficult to express. We notice that in proportion as we visit them, and mingle in their society, they become guarded and circumspect in all their demeanor, and as they become intelligent, they lose their relish for gaudy tinsel and display. They feel convinced that character is based on mental and moral worth. There are none who appreciate the advantages of education and morality so much as those who are best educated and most moral. After living with them a year, and associating on terms of perfect friendship and equality, we do not find on their part anything like an unpleasant familiarity, but on the other hand an increased sense of moral and intellectual distance. This to us is sometimes exceedingly painful. Said one of their most intelligent men to us the other day, "I feel as though I did not know any thing, and never had done any thing." They know how to appreciate favors from their friends, and at the same time they receive insults from their enemies, with a patience known only to a people who have been long abused. While a majority feel pained and depressed at the cruel prejudice of the whites,—there are others—men of strong and independent minds, who either do not notice, or if they do, look down with utter contempt upon the narrow feeling which makes color the test of character.

The question is often asked, Can slaves, if liberated, take care of themselves? We cannot answer this question better than by pointing to the colored population of Cincinnati. It is amusing to see the curious look which an emancipated slave assumes, when he is asked this question. He seems at a loss to know whether he shall consider it a joke or an honest inquiry. "We did," they say, "take care of ourselves and our masters too, while we were in fetters. We dug our way out of slavery—and now that we are free, all we ask is a fair chance." We know of no class of men who are better qualified to take care of themselves if placed under proper influences. True, but few of those in Cincinnati are wealthy—but let it be remem-

bered *their sympathies are with the slave*, and with all their disabilities they have within a few years poured into the coffers of the white man, more than two hundred thousand dollars, for the purchase of their freedom. Permit us to give a few more facts on this point and we have done.

David Young, an emancipated slave, has bought his wife and six children. He paid for them $1,265. He yet owes $110 for the last child. This he expects to pay this summer.

Henry Boyd, bought himself at the age of eighteen. He is now thirty-one, and is worth $3,000. He has also bought a brother and sister, for whom he paid $900.

Samuel Lewis, paid $500 for himself before he was eighteen years old.

Rebecca Madison, paid $1,800 for herself, and is now worth $3,000.

William O'Hara, an emancipated slave, has been in this city eight years, and is now worth $7,000.

Henry Blue, paid for himself $1,000, is now thirty-nine years of age, and is worth $5,000. He attends school every day.

Richard Keys, for twelve years paid twenty dollars per month, for his time. He then paid $850 for his freedom, amounting to $3,739. This man when a slave, was what is called an unmanageable fellow. He was sold nine times. Says, he never would be struck,—was not the least afraid to dirk or kill any man that abused him,—always kept a dirk about him. Supposes that in his various scuffles with overseers and others he had stabbed fifteen or twenty men. "But," said he, "it was not so when I got free." On inquiring why it was not so? he replied, "I was afraid of the law! Before, I did not care. I felt desperate, I knew I might as well die one way as another. But when I got free my eyes came open,—then I knew where I was,—I felt like a man. The law was before me, and I was afraid of it!" Speaking of his last master, he said, "There is no man I love more than Mr. Lovell, this blessed day, for he was a kind master, though he kept me twelve years in slavery." Mr. Keys is now an exemplary member of the Baptist church.*

His wife also bought herself. Her master was an orphan child. He was three months old when he came in possession of her, and she was his nurse when an infant. The guardian made her take care of herself and support the child. After the child left her, she was required to pay seventy dollars a year, twenty years, for his support,—boarded herself, bought all her clothes, paid her house rent, etc. She did the whole of this by washing,—now and then she could save a little money, hoping she might, at some future day, redeem herself from bondage. "Many and many a night," said she, "after washing all day, have I sat up and ironed all night." Her husband says, as he came to visit her in the night, he has often found her thus at work. In this way she saved for herself a considerable sum every year, besides paying the seventy dollars per year, to sustain her young master. When he became of age, she paid him what money she had, amounting to $400. Her husband paid $192 more, and she was liberated. Can slaves take care of themselves?

We have done,—although we have not given one-tenth part of the facts in our possession. Those we have given, are not by any means, extreme cases. We chose the medium, the better to illustrate the true character and condition of this interesting people.

Your Committee would conclude their Report by offering the following resolution:

That in view of the needy circumstances of our free colored citizens, the influence which their elevation and good deportment would exert against slavery, and the facility afforded for the introduction among them of education and religion, we earnestly commend this field to the charities of the good people of this state, as one in which their benevolence can be most efficiently expended.

AUGUSTUS WATTLES,
JOHN W. ALVORD,
SAMUEL WELLS,
H. LYMAN,
MARCUS R. ROBINSON,
Committee.

REPORT ON THE LAWS OF OHIO.

Gentlemen: your "Committee on the laws of Ohio," after having given them such a consideration as their time would admit, submit the following report:

Whatever may be the minor designs of government, its principal aim is to promote the happiness, and to secure the rights and liberties of man. While legislators keep these objects in view, it is the source of blessing, and sends life into every part of the political system. But when, unmindful of the true interest of the people, they use their power to curtail this liberty, and to banish this happiness, they make it the instrument of oppression, and the scourge of every community.

The government under which we live was formed upon the broad and universal principles of equal and unalienable rights; principles which were proclaimed at its first formation, which were incorporated into the compact under which our own state claims a right of membership in the Union.

Notwithstanding all this, *it is a fact*, that the great and fundamental principles of our government have been violated by enact-

* We have examined the vouchers in all the cases here detailed, and are fully satisfied that there is no deception. The stories told by these persons are confirmed by receipts and cancelled notes, now in their possession.

ments framed under the ostensible authority of this compact, which are entirely inconsistent with and subversive of the spirit which they breathe. These enactments are the more unjust from their being designed for the exclusive oppression of a weak and defenceless class of our fellow citizens,—a class convicted of no crime—no natural inferiority—no conspiracy against our political and religious institutions, demanding their exclusion from the rights and privileges of citizenship.

Amongst the statutes of Ohio, recorded on the 25th of January, 1807, and which has been in force until the present time, we find the following act. "*Be it enacted*, That no negro or mulatto person shall be permitted to emigrate into, and settle within this state, unless such negro or mulatto person shall, within twenty days thereafter, enter into a bond with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars, before the clerk of the court of common pleas, in which such negro or mulatto may wish to reside (to be approved of by the clerk,) conditioned for the good behavior of such negro or mulatto person,—and moreover, to pay for support of such persons, in case he, she, or they should hereafter be found within any township of this state, unable to support themselves; and if any negro or mulatto person shall migrate into this state, and not comply with the provisions of this act, it shall be the duty of the overseers of the poor, of such township, where such negro or mulatto person may be found, to remove immediately such black or mulatto person, in the same manner as is required in the case of paupers."

The 3d. Section declares, "That if any person, being a resident of this state, shall employ, harbor, or conceal any such negro or mulatto person aforesaid, contrary to the provisions of the first section of this act; any person shall forfeit and pay for every such offence a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, the one half to the informer and the other half for the use of the poor in the township where such person may reside, to be recovered by an action of debt, before any court having competent jurisdiction; and moreover, be liable for the maintenance and support of such negro or mulatto, provided he, she, or they, shall become unable to support themselves."

"Sect. 4. That no black or mulatto person or persons shall hereafter be permitted to be sworn or give evidence in any court of record or elsewhere in this state, in any cause depending, or matter of controversy, when either party to the same is a white person; or in any prosecution which shall be instituted in behalf of the state against any white person."

No individual, however much his mind may be swayed by prejudice and passion, can fail to perceive that the above statutory restrictions upon the colored population of Ohio, are arbitrary and unjust, and opposed to principles contained in our state constitution, as expressed in Sec. 1st. Art. 8th, in these words: "We declare that ALL are born *free* and *independent*, and have certain natural, inherent, unalienable rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, *acquiring*, *possessing*, and *protecting property*, and *pursuing* and *attaining happiness* and *safety*." What a contrast between our constitution and our statutes! Is it a mark of this *liberty* which is blazoned forth on our constitution, as the "inherent and natural right of *all* men," that the blacks should be under the necessity of entering into a bond with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars, *before* they are admitted to *acquire* and *possess property*, or to *pursue* and enjoy happiness? No. It is shutting, by the sanction of law, the very portals of happiness! It is casting them friendless and houseless into the open arms of poverty, and virtually *compelling* them to roam like vagabonds over the land,—for they cannot obtain a residence until they have given their bonds with competent sureties, which it is very seldom they will be able to do. Surely we cannot have the enjoyment of liberty and freedom, unless we have the privilege of going into any community we please—of staying as long as we please, and of "pursuing after and acquiring happiness," by the same means, and on the same terms, as other people. Our constitution does not say, *all men* of *a certain color* are entitled to certain rights, and are born free and independent. But the expression is unlimited, and is applicable to *every* color, clime, and condition. ALL men are so born, and have the *unalienable* rights of life and liberty—the pursuit of happiness, and the acquisition and possession of wealth. According to our constitution, they have all the same rights which others enjoy, the same right to emigrate when and where they please, and the same right to *acquire* and *possess* property. Yet, as we have seen, our statutory enactments virtually deprive them of those rights. They make a certificate of freedom and a *penal bond*, not *moral worth* and intelligence, requisites of citizenship. They require a penal bond of five hundred dollars, with two or more freehold sureties, that they will never offend against the law,—and that, in spite of the infirmities of age and the pressure of disease, or casualties, they should be able to support themselves. Few amongst the whites would be able to obtain sureties on such conditions, and much less the blacks, who are strangers, and pennyless, and against whose race there exists a general prejudice. As if to complete the disabilities of the blacks, and to render their lot insupportable in Ohio, in the

31 section we find all white persons forbid hiring or harboring the blacks, unless they have complied with the above mentioned requisitions of the statutes. This enactment cuts off the last hope of the refugee from southern oppression. By it he is denied the poor privilege of working for his daily bread, and the white who extends to him the common rites of hospitality, or performs the duties of christian charity, is liable to a prosecution for *harboring* him, unless he has the requisite securities for his good behavior and support. Can there be a more flagrant and unjustifiable violation of "natural, inherent rights," than is contained in the foregoing acts of our state legislature, or one more opposed to the spirit of our constitution?

Let us now look at the 4th section of this law. The former *sections* have carefully guarded the avenues through which the blacks could obtain wealth, with a vigilance worthy of a better cause. But, suppose from a fortunate occurrence of favorable circumstances, they have been able to acquire property and a comfortable subsistence, this section opens a wide door for him to be deprived of it, by every unprincipled knave. It declares, that "no black or mulatto person or persons shall hereafter be sworn, or permitted to give evidence, in any court of record or elsewhere in this state, in any case depending, or matter of controversy, when either party is a white." The unconstitutionality of this law must be apparent to every individual, as soon as he turns to our state constitution, and reads in the 7th section, 8th article, these words: "That all courts shall be open, and *every person*, for any injury done him, in his lands, goods, person, or reputation, shall have remedy by the due course of law, and right and justice administered without *denial* or *delay*." But of what avail is this to the black? His property may be taken away, his person assailed by the hand of violence, and his reputation blasted by the foul breath of calumny; and unless he can produce a *white* witness, provided his injurer is white, he can have no redress. Is not this a palpable violation of our constitution?

Before leaving this subject, your committee wish to take another view of this law, which will show its complete inconsistency with the fundamental principles of our government. It is stated, in the 2d section, 4th article of the constitution of the United States, that, "the citizens of *each* state shall be entitled to *all* the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." Who citizens are, is a question which admits of some doubt. Neither the constitution of the United States, nor that of Ohio, clearly defines. But the constitution of the United States in apportioning representative and direct taxes, says, it shall be "according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding the whole number of *free* persons including those bound to service for a number of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons." From this, and the fact that *freemen* are considered citizens in other countries, it appears that all *free* persons, born in and residents of the United States, with the exception of Indians not taxed, are citizens, and as such, are entitled, in every state, to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of these states,—and inasmuch as no state can pass any law, in contravention of the laws of the United States, which shall be binding upon any individual; we hence infer, that those enactments, in the Ohio legislature, imposing disabilities upon free blacks, emigrating from other states, *are entirely unconstitutional.*

There is another law bearing date 1831, which your committee will briefly notice. In the 25th section, 8th article, of our state constitution, we find it declared, "that no laws shall be passed to prevent the poor, of the several townships and counties in this state, from an *equal* participation in the schools, academies, colleges, and univerities in this state, which are endowed, in whole or in part, from the revenue arising from donations made by the United States, for the support of colleges and schools, and the doors of said schools, academies, and universities *shall be open* for the reception of scholars, students, and teachers of *every grade*, without *any distinction* or *preference whatever*."

From this article of our state constitution, it would appear that *all without any distinction*, were entitled to the privileges of our common schools, so far as they are endowed, in whole or in part, by the revenue arising from donations by the United States. But notwithstanding this clear and unqualified declaration, and the indisputable fact of the United States having set apart the sixteenth section of land in each originally surveyed township, as a donation for the express purpose of endowing and supporting common schools: yet, when we turn to the statute book, we find that colored children are excluded. We find it enacted, "That when any appropriation shall be made by the directors of any school district from its treasury thereof for the payment of a teacher, the school in such district, shall be open to all the *white* children residing therein, etc."

Is this statute unconstitutional or is it not?

Your committee will spend no further time in examining "the laws of Ohio," but will proceed to inquire into the *influence* of these laws. This subject will naturally fall under the cognizance of a committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the blacks, and we will therefore dismiss it with a few remarks. Their influence upon the blacks cannot be otherwise than destructive to their moral and intellectual character, and their

pecuniary interests. Mental debasement—moral degradation—self disrespect—unyielding prejudice on the part of the whites, and the most distressing poverty, are the natural and necessary consequences of these pernicious, unjust, and impolitic laws. In reviewing these laws, we find all their bearings and provisions calculated to produce effects, the opposite of those for which our government was instituted,—viz: administering right and justice, and promoting industry and honesty by encouraging them; instead of which, by refusing employment to the colored man, it drives him to resort to dishonest means for his support, and invites the unprincipled white to defraud, yea, to insult, to maim, and abuse and injure the black and mulatto with impunity.

With regard to the course which should be pursued for the repeal of these laws, your committee earnestly recommend, that petitions be presented to our state legislature, and the subject urged upon their attention, until they wipe away this foul stain from the statutes of Ohio. As much as your committee would deprecate the idea of making this a *party* question, we would yet endeavor to impress it upon the minds of all, that in choosing our legislators, we should select those who will exert their influence to remodel and purify our laws, until the last blot is washed away, and being freemen in *theory* we shall be such in *practice*.

OFFICERS OF THE OHIO ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Hon. Leicester King, *President.* Warren.
Hon. Alex'r Campbell, *V. Pres't.* Ripley.

Committee.

Names.	*Residence.*
Rev. James Gilliland,	Brown Co.
Prof. Charles G. Finney,	Oberlin Theol. Sem.
Prof. Asa Drury,	Granville College.
Gen. Rees E. Price,	Hamilton Co.
Isaac Colby, M. D.	Cincinnati.
Hon. Francis Dunlavy,	Warren Co.
Col. William Keys,	Highland Co.
David Long, M. D.	Cuyahoga Co.
Elizur Wright, Esq.	Portage Co.
Richard Long,	Ross Co.
Nathan Galbraith,	Columbiana Co.
Col. James Stewart,	Fayette.
Abraham Baer,	Stark Co.
Wm. N. Hudson, M. D.	Geauga.
Maj. Samuel Denny,	Circleville.
Orestes K. Hawley, M. D.	Ashtobula Co.
Levi Whipple, Esq.	Muskingum Co.
J. S. Waugh, M. D.	Butler Co.

From the St. Louis Observer.

DR. NELSON'S LETTER.

To the Presbyterians of Missouri, who hold Slaves:

Dear Brethren,—I have some acquaintance with a majority of you. I believe we mutually love each other. Through the columns of the "Observer," we may converse, although we meet not face to face. I wish to present you with a thought, which if unimportant you need not notice. I feel that affection moves me to the effort—but should the doctrine be unsound, regard it not—should the argument be unfair or delusive, it will not be hard for you to turn away—but should I advocate the truth, then, in God's name, hear and *act*. I do hope to sing many a song with the most of you on the other side of the river! Then whilst we are together here, let us help each other on, when we have the smallest opportunity. Connected with the thought which I desire to suggest for your consideration, are two original principles, about which we concur in sentiment, with feeling celerity. Nevertheless, I will here write them down, plain as they are, that they may be mentally applied whenever needed, without direct quotation.

First Principle.—The participator in crime is a criminal. The accessory, in the view of heaven, is a principal. Standing near where crime is acted, I participate, if I *remove obstacles, if I hold the slightest additional temptation before the eye of the guilty, if I furnish facilities, nay, IF I PREVENT NOT where my ability reaches.*

Second Principle.—This can be longer remembered by noting the case where a man was urged to cease from habitual adultery. After stating, that should he suddenly neglect his paramour, she, through revenge, would make statements to her husband, which would cause him to take his (the adulterer's) life—the law would then execute the husband, and the homeless, unsupported woman, would soon reach death through the avenues of *abandonment*, leaving her children to certain wretchedness, &c. He received the following answer from his adviser, which contains the principle about which we heartily agree: "The consequences seem awfully threatening, but I am not aware of any permit from the Holy One which authorizes the gradual cessation from that which his soul hateth; or a partial retreat from abominable pollution, *the violation of the seventh commandment.*"

Or the following case may impress upon our memories this all-important principle:

His Bible, his friend, and his conscience, warned M. to repent of murder. He had been in the habit, semi-monthly, of going to a certain road, killing a traveller, and, and with *his* purse furnishing a dissolute family with the means of revelry. The answer of M. was: "my conscience is awake—my habit must cease, but not *suddenly*. I must first teach my children industry, they know not how to work; I must restrain their passion for indulgence; should food and raiment, the necessaries of life, suddenly fail them, with their present lawless habits, my daughters would become prostitutes, my sons robbers,

and the increase of murders would be twenty-fold. I should not only destroy my family, but the public would bleed for it at every pore." The reply he received, contains, again, that starting principle, concerning which, I am happy to believe, we have no dispute. The consequences indeed threaten wofully. But results are not to frighten us from ceasing to violate the sixth commandment—*thou shalt not kill*. Quitting murder gradually does not comport with the views of all the wicked. Ceasing to dip our hands in blood as soon as *circumstances are altogether favorable*, is not the doctrine, dear brethren, which you love.

Furthermore: if we may not cease *slowly* from the crimes of murder and adultery, then it would be hard to show a reason why we may leave off by degrees, the infraction of any one of the remaining eight commandments. God has not intimated to us that an inferior or superior degree of holiness belongs to any one of the ten. But if we may not violate moderately, *for a time*, one of heaven's awful injunctions; what shall we say of the custom, which in a christian, amounts to the certain breaking of each one of the commandments, from the first to the tenth, inclusive, as fast as time beats seconds, while passing by us? That is, eighty-eight thousand four hundred times in twenty-four hours, the moments pass our souls to give in their account above. And that account, correctly, is that each man or woman claiming a fellow-creature, has been guilty of each crime pointed at by the decalogue, as often as every second. Do not smile, my dear friend. It requires no effort to prove more than this. Oh! the picture is not the outline of facts. I have lived with slavery for forty years. You are not very likely to deny such facts as I write. Have you courage to turn round and look at yourself in the glass of truth for half an hour? Come, then, and let us be steady and deliberate; for shortly all our characters will be uncovered, even should we be unwilling. Inasmuch, then, as the sixth and seventh commandments have been already noticed, we may begin with one of them.

You own a slave, dear brother or sister. (Permit me to say, *dear* brother; I have wept with you in the same room and circle, at the mention of Calvary; the recollection of those melting moments yet continues, and will, I hope, until we meet on high.) Your example then, encourages slavery!! And let me here throw in that which I expect to prove ere long—it upholds it more than the example of one hundred ungodly men. But you agree that example is encouragement, and the strongest of encouragement, in any cause. As long then, as you continue the practice, you help to keep on the chain; and of course, (forget it or not,) participate in the results. Now look at that young colored female; she knows that if she is known as a fornicatress, or an adulteress, her standing in society is not lessened. Nothing else was expected. Her diminution of respectability is *imperceptible*, at best. She had no standing to lose. Will you say, that keeping any one in a station where no shame, no disgrace, no forfeiture of home is to be dreaded, will not add to the temptation toward adultery? Or will you say, that those who increase temptation do not participate in the crime? (Hold out the temptation of one half cent, or the promise of secrecy, or the smallest additional facility to any one who kills, and human law calls you a murderer. God's rules are as strict.) Or will you say that example does not aid in the perpetuation of slavery? I really do think you will not readily take either of these positions. And yet one of them you must take, or it follows that you are accessory to sins, which, if each polluting act did cover just the space occupied by an individual star, would stain the heavens above us to perfect blackness every hour!

Do you toss your head, with something like anger, my dear relative in the church? Then you have stepped to a hiding place. They are not hard to find when fancied interest prompts—poor indeed is that invention which cannot shape something plausible to shun the plainest inference, where inclination urges. But I will light another lamp, which may shine into the corner you at present occupy. How is it to place males and females, to sleep before the same fire, or in the same narrow room, their beds almost touching? Do not talk to me about bolts or locks. Such statements might pass with some eastern brethren; but I know the truth. Separation, even where it is claimed, exists only in name. And it never will be better, for the profits of slavery will not justify a house with many separate rooms. Will you say that, in their education, they are so trained to chastity and elevation of thought, they are beyond temptation? I presume this is not your plea. Is it that every possible exposure does not amount to temptation? No; this you do not believe. Do you say peace to yourself, because you have but one, or none grown, of different sexes? Ah! then, I must again remind you, that you help to encourage all the slavery in the United States; and this wire of influence links you to every common result. I could mention a variety of ways, by which you go your share in promoting all the adulteries and fornications connected with slavery; but I have no paper. I shall only pause to say, that your share will be larger than you suppose, and wider than an angel can see across.

Look at an hundred men together, where one murder is committed. One hand alone is extended in the bloody deed; but all encourage—some by smiles, some by words of

cheer, others by promises of protection. Do you say that one hundred cases of murder were necessary, in order to constitute each one of these a murderer? No: one crime is not divided, but multiplied into one hundred separate acts. Do not stupify yourself by hoping that the sins of slaves are divided out to the different families where they happen. If you encourage all the slavery that exists, you encourage all the naturally attendant sins; and the sins we help on in any way, *belong to us!* When I push away all thoughts and feelings of extravagance; if I yet dare to be faithful and just, I cannot see how any one can swim across the sea of pollution which surrounds every slaveholder, in half an eternity. Could masters afford to build kitchens with eating rooms, sitting room, and separate bed-rooms; still those females are thrown, by the nature of their employments, into the same field, or under the same shade with the men; or sent on errands through an exposure, (perhaps with profligate white young men,) to which no prudent mother ever subjects her daughter. Dear sister, why do you leave that young slave where you would not leave your own child? Shall I answer for you? It is through a comparative amount of indifference whether her chastity is preserved or not. You would rather she should stand pure; but she is a slave, and you have other employment; you cannot watch her always. Why does not the church shudder? Why is not every member seized with the agony of distraction, remembering that not a communicant sits at that board, who is not influentially united with sins of nameless deformity; any one of which would stain that white cloth black, oftener and faster than the speaker pronounces words about the blood of Christ? O, sister, long habit may accustom us to almost any spectacle: but we begin to live in a different age. Light is dawning. It is time you should think. You must think; and if you do, it will not be long before you act, unless you are satisfied with the atmosphere of sin, and love the sound of the hot rivers that flow into hell. But blessed be the Saviour of the world, and the God of our salvation, we can act. We are not tied to that horrible monster. And there is blood that can wash us from any sin of which we heartily repent. I begin to find that I shall not have space to take up each one of the ten commandments. I may glance at one or two more, and this will show us what is the awful truth concerning the whole moral law.

"Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy."

That slavery which you say you disapprove, (but still continue to practice,) either puts it out of the power of the black to keep holy those blessed hours, or renders it next to impossible. This million on the right hand are worked through the week in such a manner, that the Sabbath can only be to them a day of slumber and stupefaction. The others might possibly keep it holy, but never will. Linked with the shape of our soul, is a propensity, not in itself criminal. It cannot be parted with, or annihilated. It is a wish to see our fellow-creatures, and to associate with our kind. The slave can only leave the circle of his toils (uncheered by the thought of wages) on Sunday. He longs to see his equals. If he does ever allow himself to be in company, this is his day, and it is spent in gossip, rambling, and sin!

"Honor thy father and thy mother."

Do you, dear fellow-traveller, (I hope to glory,) suppose it a matter of indifference with the Lord of Hosts, whether this commandment is obeyed or broken? I believe His voice pronounced the words out of Sinai's blaze, as audibly and emphatically as it did the sixth, or tenth. You help to put it out of the power of half a million of children to obey God here. That child is not reared by her parents. This one sees them whipped —hears them called *strumpet*, *harlot*, *thief*, *scoundrel*, and every name that denotes infamy. These parents cannot learn the art of training children—a most difficult and momentous branch of education. If they did possess the skill of government, they cannot exercise it. They have not time. They possess only a divided authority, &c. Children can never honor parents, who do not act the part of father and mother towards them with dilligence and affection.

Thus it is with all the ten commands. Slavery necessarily involves the continued, incessant, and total violation and disregard of every one, by every victim, every hour. It is not now expedient to explore this dismal forest further. We have already seen more than we can remember. Let us turn a different course. It may be that you have been all this time hoping that you are not answerable for the crimes of South Carolina bondmen; or of slaves any where at a ditsance. Is this your hiding place? Your door can be unlocked, and you can be pushed out where the arrows of conscience will reach you again. I remember well, when I first heard it averred that the evil done the earth by the daily drunkard, was not to be compared with that of the steady and respectable man who only tasted occasionally. My first thought was, "it is extravagance." My mind then traversed the assertion again, when I was compelled to take it in undiminished. My third reflection was, "how stupid have I been all my life, never to have seen that before!"

A man need not have his eyes entirely open, before he can safely depose that the red-eyed, idiot staggerer, in rags, has nothing alluring about him. His look and smell will

rather serve to drive the incautious away from the hot track towards putrefaction. Nay, even those half-gone, smoking, spitting, noisy fools, who vapour around the bar-keeper, disgust the naturally delicate and refined. If you wish to make sure that such shall run the drunkard's race, conduct them into that parlor; and let the man who never was debased, whose conversation is instructive, and whose manners are dignified, hand the glass with a social smile.

Ah! my brother, you decide here at once. I have heard you. You know whose example entices towards the pit of intemperance —the gentleman's or the brute's. You say there is no comparison. And you say correctly. You say that the example of the respectable man will reach an hundred times as far in upholding any vice, as that of the worthless and the hateful. But when you say all this, you seem to forget its import in the case of slavery. I never hear you mention the principle when you talk of slavery. Do you purposely forget it, or what is the cause of your strange avoidance? I fear you will be afraid to answer the question I am about to ask you. It will give you pain to answer it. I, therefore, would not urge the question; but God will shortly, I fear, make some demands of us, to which we cannot reply. As a preventive, then, I must ask the question; whether you, my presbyterian brethren, have or have not courage to answer honestly. The question is this: whose example is the most stable and efficient, in upholding that slavery with which you agree we are cursed? Is it that of the bloody, little-souled coward, who starves his dependents, and sinks his lash in human flesh daily, loving the sight of gore, and charmed with groans into a feeling of loftiness? No. If none but these owned slaves, it would not be tolerated half a year. The mob in New Orleans, (yes, New Orleans!) pulled down the house of such a character. These tyrants do the cause of emancipation as much service, as the bloated do the cause of temperance. Is it the example of the professional negro driver, which encourages men to claim souls as property? No: you hate these men yourself. I hear you often say so. (Although I confess I am, and always was, too dull to see much difference between the man who carries a slave from one state to another, and the man who sells him, or owns and chains him to a particular spot.) But you say that all detest the negro driver. Of course, his example is rather against, than in favor of the custom. Whose example is it, then, which quiets the conscience most, and stills perturbation, and makes it seem honest to say, "*work without wages*;" and thickens every link in that accursed chain? It is the example of the *steady professor of religion*. It is the example of him whose conduct, in other respects, most adorns the gospel; who pleads against alcohol, who observes the Sabbath, who feeds his slaves and clothes them well, and tasks them lightly. You are generally of that class. You do more to confirm and continue naked slavery, than any other class of men in existence. There is that belonging to the influence which sober-walking professors have over the earth, that the wicked do not understand. Many christians forget, and others do not know it. Let us build a platform on which to exhibit that fact.

The time was, when, if I heard an infidel say that religion and the bible had his entire contempt, I believed him. When he told me that he had not the slightest regard of any kind for the name of Jesus, he seemed to think so, and I thought with him. But after this I saw him, whilst christians were weeping over a praying sinner, gnashing his teeth at the spectacle! Whilst the minister was preaching, I saw him leave the house of God in anger. I remembered that if the minister had been speaking of Constantine or Tamerlane, it would have been a matter of perfect indifference with that hearer, whether he censured bitterly or warmly eulogized. I spake with, perhaps, an hundred lofty scoffers, on points of history, science, or law, where we differed in our views. They maintained a rational and smiling debate. I addressed them kindly on their prospects for eternity. Some grew instantly angry; others asked for another subject; others turned pale—all were restless. In short, I found that the name of Jesus Christ has more torturing influence over atheists, deists, and universalists, who profess total indifference, than any other name ever pronounced, "under heaven amongst men," Let us now look at the same principle exhibited in another case. Why were the humble followers of Wesley, in England, more tarred, feathered, stoned, cursed, and hated, than were the horse-theives and gamblers? They had not stolen the property, or assaulted the persons of their countrymen. Yet robbers and murderers did not receive half the hearty hatred, (if we may judge from the malignant invective, and bitter cursings,) as they did these inoffensive men. The Saviour has given us the reason —"If ye are of the world, the world would love its own; but because ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you." These men had a powerful influence in England. Their holiness was reproving the multitude so severely, that it almost drove them to madness.

The loudest compliment I ever heard paid a methodist church, either in England or America, has been the hatred bestowed on them by the carnal professor, and the wicked. The boldest praise I could bestow upon the presbyterian church, and the most flattering

belief I entertain of them, I here write down; because it is necessary to my ultimate design in this address. I believe they are more hated and reviled in bar-rooms, and groceries, than any other people in the Mississippi valley. If I am correct in this supposition, then it follows that their influence is great indeed. If not correct, it is still true that their influence may be known and measured by the amount of calumnies, sneers, and belchings of ammosity, of which they are the subject; and which may be seen in infidel prints, and heard elsewhere. If the character, and testimony, and conduct of christians, torture not the conscience of the world, there will be no throes of impatience visible. If the doctrine and walk of professors resemble that of the Saviour, they will be hated as certainly as he was; and men will be loud in their abuse of them, as certainly as they were of Him. Now we are prepared to understand that all holy and active professors of every denomination, have an influence over the ungodly, which the wicked deny; over the worldly church member, which he does not acknowledge; and over all, far beyond their own apprehension.

Before christians began to wash their hands, it was in vain to speak in favor of temperance. If christians did not own slaves, (I mean those, who, in other respects, seem to deserve the name of christian,) the consciences of thousands who now walk in quiet, would be tortured most unbearably: and yet you are waiting, are you? For what? For the world to set you the good example? No, you dare not say that. Is it that the slaves may be prepared for freedom? If you say this, I have one objection to it; that is, it is not true. For you are not preparing them. I have long heard this; but I know it is sham pretext, for no more is now doing to educate them, than was years ago. You have not now, in this state, as many in Sabbath schools, or in training of any kind, as the natural increase of one year. You cannot, and in many cases you dare not, assemble them in schools. And will you, follower of the Lamb, mock the Lord, by telling him you are waiting to have them trained? Are you waiting for something to be done by the laws? Oh, deceptious statement from the bottomless pit! This song, the christians of my native state, Tennessee, have been singing for half a lifetime. And at least they obtained their convention. And how did the long-hoped-for convention relieve them? By making it unconstitutional for the legislature to touch the subject.

Do you, *the light of the world*, (here I address all slave-holding christians,) contend for the privilege of holding them for a year or two? Can it then be strange that others should design to hold them forever. But do you reply, "what can I do? The law is against liberation, my servants are unprepared, I am unable to act in the case." Hold there, brother, sister; you can act. You can act to-morrow. No human power can compel you to make, or to continue to make, a slave of your fellow creature. Do not say you cannot emancipate. I know better. Some have tried it. All the difficulty lies in being willing. Do not say a word about consequences. They cannot be worse than must attend on many additional Southampton cases, in years to come. But no matter what are the consequences. You are not justified in continuing to participate in ten thousand times ten thousand thefts, murders, adulteries, and every imaginable crime. You can say to your slave, to-morrow morning, "you are no longer mine, but I am willing to hire you." Do right, and leave the consequences with God. If you do not do something shortly, my dear friend, I tremble for you.

You have not the excuse you had three years since. Light is beaming. Discussion increases. A few years since, when your preacher came down from the pulpit, your elder handed him a glass of spirits for *the sake of his health*: (disgusting lies.) What would you think of either of them, were they to act so now? You would pitch them from the church battlement. If you did not, you would not deserve to lay your filthy fingers upon a bible. What is the reason of this? *Guilt increases as light strengthens.* Just so, in a few years, you will wonder at those who could claim an immortal being as property, and sleep. Did I say *just so*? The expression is inadequate. You will stand in perplexing doubt, whether he who could claim a brother man long enough to cook one dinner, could possibly have had, at the time, any respect for any part of the law of God. Oh, dear brethren, let us hear that you are doing right, that the maxims of perdition no longer govern you. Do you say, "*my wife* is unable to work, because of ill health." Then work for her yourself. Do you reply, "I am needed in the field." Then beg—or do any thing lawful, rather than be a thousand times criminal every hour. O, get out of that ocean of sin any way. You will feel happy—exceedingly happy—I know it. To do right brings a blessing with it, worth worlds. Try it, and try it speedily. This is a hurrying age.

I hope in a few weeks, to be able to write an address to the abolitionists, in company with several other classes of men, on a very important subject. Do let me have some good news to tell them. If you would free all your slaves, it would urge the government to do something sooner than any thing else. Do you fear your slaves would become vagabonds? I have known those who feared this, but tried it, and were very agreeably disappointed. Do be a little timorous on other

points. Dread, lest growing up in bondage, their souls should be lost. I would give what little I possess of worldly treasure, could I thereby prevail on you to make the following innocent experiment, for the next month, uninterruptedly. As your servant passes near you, just look into that dark face seven times in each day, and say, "there is a deathless being whose natural rights I do not intend to restore until the government does something." *And then go to prayer.* This, I have little expectation you will or can do. May I then, in conclusion, ask you to comply with a very fair and reasonable demand? Will you go on your knees once in each day, and tell HIM, whose eye is every where, that you are faithfully and earnestly educating or preparing your slaves for freedom, and that as soon as they are ready you will free them? No, you dare not tell him such a falsehood. Let me, then, in saying farewell, repeat that which you already believe. The space between you and the gate—either the right or left hand gate—is narrow indeed. The beings who live where the Prince of compassionate mercy is, who are now in his company look very beautiful. The everlasting hills are bright. Heaven is *long* as well as glorious. They sing there, oh! how sweetly. If you are there some eight or nine hundred millions of years on the other side of the judgment, you will not regret any inconvenience you sustained here by waiting on yourself. You will not sigh when you recollect having diminished your *property*, (PROPERTY!!!) by doing right. N.

From the Liberator.

CHRISTIAN HEROISM.

The following epistle is from the sister of the departed GRIMKE. Whether it was sent for our private consolation and encouragement exclusively, or whether it is meekly committed to the disposal of our judgment, either for individual or general perusal, we are not certain. We know that its excellent authoress ordinarily shuns public observation, and that nothing but a willingness to bear odium for Christ's sake, or the hope of advancing his cause, would allow her to obtrude her thoughts upon the attention of others. We are thrilled—subdued—strengthened—soul-animated, on reading it. It comes to us as the voice of an angel. Its spirit, dignity, endurance, faith, devotion, are such as have never been excelled by the noblest exhibition of christian martyrdom, even since the days of the apostles. We cannot, we dare not suppress it, nor the name of her who indited it. We publish it, that our cruel assailants may perceive how heavenly is that temper, and how pure that principle, which they are branding as fanaticism and madness. We publish it, that all who are toiling with us for the redemption of the bodies and souls of perishing millions, may be with us quickened and confirmed in our good work. We publish it, especially, that female abolitionists may derive support and comfort from its perusal, in the midst of danger and distress. Many of our private friends have seen it, and importunately urge its publication in the columns of the Liberator; and in complying with their request, and the irresistible promptings of our own feelings, we hope if we startle the diffidence of her who wrote it, that we shall not be guilty of personal wrong. Surely, if the exigencies of the times require this public testimony, she will most joyfully bear it. Surely, the heart that could give utterance to a sentiment so melting, so sublime, so Christ-like as this—"a *hope* gleams across my mind, that *our* blood will be spilt, instead of the slaveholder's—*our* lives taken, and their's spared"—surely, she who is thus, through the power of the Holy One, prepared for an ignominious death—for a fiery martyrdom—will not shrink from the publication of a private letter, when in the opinion of her friends, it will essentially aid the cause of mercy and righteousness. What are all the angry resolutions and malignant speeches of a thousand meetings, in conflict with an epistle like this? As chaff!

Yes, we respond to her cheering declaration—*this is a cause worth dying for*—dying, not in the midst of carnage, upon the battle-field, but upon the scaffold, in the dungeon, or at the stake, unresistingly, bearing testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus, and in imitation of his illustrious example. If, by the shedding of *our* blood, the lives of our enemies may be saved, let it be shed. Father, thy will be done!

This letter will be read widely—attentively, *now:* it will be read with admiration and thanksgiving by *posterity.* It has been written in the midst of universal anarchy and peril—when scorn and insult are the certain portion of those who advocate the right of the bondman to instant emancipation from his fetters—when worldly prudence and policy are crying silence—when many of the clergy and the church are acting the part of traitors to God and their dying fellow men—when to espouse the cause of the black man, is to place one's self among the off-scouring of all the earth. This makes the gold of Ophir as dross in comparison with its value.

PHILADELPHIA, 8th month, 30th.

Respected Friend:

It seems as if I was compelled at this time to address thee, notwithstanding all my reasonings against intruding on thy valuable time, and the uselessness of so insignificant a person as myself offering thee the sentiments of sympathy at this alarming crisis.

I can hardly express to thee the deep and

solemn interest with which I have viewed the violent proceedings of the last few weeks. Although I expected opposition, yet I was not prepared for it so soon—it took me by surprise, and I greatly feared the abolitionsts would be driven back in the first onset, and thrown into confusion. So fearful was I, that though I clung with unflinching firmness to our *principles*, yet I was afraid of even opening one of thy papers, lest I should see some indications of a compromise, some surrender, some palliation. Under these feelings, I was induced to read thy appeal to the citizens of Boston. Judge, then, what were my feelings, on finding that my fears were utterly groundless, and that thou stoodest firm in the midst of the storm, determined to suffer and to die, rather than yield one inch. My heart was filled with thanksgiving and praise to the Preserver of men; I thanked God, and took courage, earnestly desiring that thousands may adopt thy language, and be *prepared* to meet a martyr's doom, rather than give up the principles you, (i. e. abolitionists,) have adopted. The ground upon which you stand is holy ground: never—never surrender it. If you surrender it, the hope of the slave is extinguished, and the chains of his servitude will be strengthened an hundred fold. But let no man take your crown, and success is as certain as the rising of to-morrow's sun. But remember you must be willing to suffer the loss of all things—willing to be the scorn and reproach of *professor* and profane. You must obey our great master's injunction; "fear *not* them that kill the body, and after that, have nothing more that they can do." You must, like the apostles, "count *not* your lives dear unto yourselves, so that you may finish your course with joy."

Religious persecution always begins with *mobs:* it is always unprecedented in any age or country in which it *commences*, and therefore there are *no laws* by which reformers can be punished; consequently, a lawless band of unprincipled men determine to take the matter into their hands, and act out in *mobs*, what they know are the *principles* of a large majority of those who are too high in *church* and state to *condescend* to mingle with them, though they *secretly* approve and rejoice over their violent measures. The first martyr who ever died, was stoned by a *lawless mob;* and if we look at the rise of various sects—methodists, friends, &c.—we shall find that *mobs began* the persecution against them, and that it was not until *after* the people had thus spoken out their wishes, that laws were framed to fine, imprison, or destroy them. Let us, then, be prepared for the enactment of laws even in our *free* states against abolitionists. And how ardently has the prayer been breathed, that God would prepare us for *all* he is preparing for us; that he would strengthen us in the hour of conflict, and cover our heads (if consistent with his holy will) in the day of battle! But O! how earnestly have I desired, *not* that we may escape suffering, but that we may be willing to endure unto the end. If we call upon the slaveholder to suffer the loss of what he calls property, then let us show him we make this demand from a deep sense of duty, by being ourselves willing to suffer the loss of character, property—yea, and life itself, in what we believe to be the cause of bleeding humanity.

My mind has been especially turned towards those, who are standing in the forefront of the battle; and the prayer has gone up for *their* preservation—not the preservation of their lives, but the preservation of their minds in humility and patience, faith, hope, and *charity*—that charity which is the bond of perfectness. If persecution is the means which God has ordained for the accomplishment of this great end, EMANCIPATION; then, in dependence *upon him* for strength to bear it, I feel as if I could say, LET IT COME; for it is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction, that *this is a cause worth dying for.* I say so, from what I have seen, and heard, and known in a land of slavery, where rests the darkness of Egypt, and where is found the sin of Sodom. Yes! LET IT COME—let *us* suffer, rather than insurrections should arise.

At one time, I thought this system would be overthrown in blood, with the confused noise of the warrior; but a hope gleams across my mind, that *our* blood will be spilt, instead of the slaveholders; *our* lives will be taken, and their's spared—I say a *hope*, for of all things I desire to be spared the anguish of seeing our beloved country desolated with the horrors of a servile war. If persecution can abolish slavery, it will also purify the church; and who that stands between the porch and the altar, weeping over the sins of the people, will not be willing to suffer, if such immense good will be accomplished. Let us endeavor, then, to put on the *whole* armor of God, and, having done all, to stand ready for whatever is before us.

I have just heard of Dresser's being flogged: it is no surprise at all; but the language of our Lord has been sweetly revived —"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner evil against you *falsely*, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven." O! for a willingness and strength to suffer! But we shall have false brethren now, just as the apostles had, and this will be one of our greatest griefs.

A. E. GRIMKE.

ANECDOTES, ETC.

SALE OF SLAVES.

The following description of one of these sales was given by a traveller in the West Indies: "The poor Africans, who were to be sold, were exposed naked, in a large empty building like an open barn. Those who came with intention to purchase, minutely inspected them, handled them, made them jump, and stamp with their feet, and throw out their arms and their legs; turned them about; looked into their mouths; and examined them in a variety of ways, to try if they were sound and healthy. All this was distressful and humiliating; but a wound still more severe was inflicted on the feelings, by some of the purchasers selecting only such as their judgment led them to prefer, regardless of the bonds of nature and affection. The husband was taken from the wife, children from their parents, and the lover torn from his mistress. In one part of the building was seen a wife clinging to her husband; here was a sister hanging upon the neck of her brother; there stood two brothers enfolded in each other's arms, mutually bewailing their threatened separation. In other parts were friends, relatives, and companions, praying to be sold to the same master, using signs to signify that they would be content with Slavery, might they but toil together. Silent tears, deep sighs, and heavy lamentations bespoke the universal suffering of these poor blacks. Never was a scene more distressful. Among these unhappy, degraded Africans, scarcely was there an unclouded countenance."—*Pinckhard's Notes.*

ANECDOTE.

A pious and worthy Episcopalian clergyman, who lately filled the office of bishop in Pennsylvania, was in early life a dissipated and immoral character. Dining one day with a party of gentlemen, they sat late drinking wine and smoking segars; and with a view of promoting merriment, he sent for one of his slaves, who was a pious preacher among the Methodists, and ordered him to preach a sermon to the company. The good man hesitated to obey; but after a time of silence on his part, he at length began to address them. But instead of the mirth which they anticipated, from the ignorance and simplicity of the poor man, the zeal and fervor of his discourse produced a contrary effect. The solemnity of the truths which he delivered, sank deeply into the hearts of some of the company, and through the divine blessing, carried conviction to the mind of his master, who, from that time became of a serious character, took upon him the clerical office from an apprehension of duty, and continued an ornament to his profession.—*Negro Slavery.*

CRUEL TREATMENT.

A traveller in America relates:—

"An opportunity once offered which gave me full demonstration of the treatment of negroes in North Carolina. I had hired a small sailing boat to convey me from the island of Mattamuskeet, on Pamlico Sound; the wind proving adverse, with the appearance of an approaching squall, the boatman proposed to make a harbor in a small creek, which he observed led to a new negro quarter, belonging to Mr. Blount, of Newburn. This I gladly agreed to. From the head of the creek, a canal had been cut to the quarter, and from thence it was intended to communicate with the Great Alligator river. For this purpose, Mr. Blount had placed there a gang of about sixty negroes, whose daily work was in water, often up to the middle. The overseer was a man of some information, and he gave us a hearty welcome to his log-house, which was a few hundred yards from the huts of the slaves. He said that no human foot had trod upon the spot till his arrival with the negroes; who had penetrated about a mile into the forest with the canal, through the haunts of wild beasts. There was an unusual number of children in proportion to the working slaves; and on my noticing this circumstance, the overseer replied, that few of them belonged to the gang, but were sent thither to be raised in safety. From the situation of the place, there was no chance of their escaping; and being fed at a small expense, and suffered to run wild and entirely naked, he observed that their increased value, when the canal was finished, would nearly defray the expense attending it. He had been two years in this desolate place, and calculated upon remaining three more before the canal would be finished. The day of our arrival happened to be on Saturday, when the week's allowance is given out. This consisted of salt herrings, of an inferior quality, and a peck of Indian corn in the cob to each, the grinding of which occupied the remainder of the day. Such was the daily food, without variation, of these wretched people. So accustomed were they to drag on this miserable existence, that I observed no repining. The overseer, however, took special care of himself. His residence was surrounded with

turkeys and fowls, and his cupboard was supplied with excellent bacon. These provisions were set before us, together with a bottle of brandy. During our repast we were attended by a stout negro boy, entirely naked. The poor fellow's attention was so riveted on the victuals, that he blundered over his employment in a manner that extorted a threat of punishment from his master, who would not attribute his momentary absence of mind to the cause from which it sprung. As soon as an opportunity offered after dinner, I cut off, unobserved, a piece of bacon, and gave it to the boy, who snatched at it in an extasy, and instantly ran off to the negro huts. On his return, I questioned him what he had done with it; when the grateful and affectionate creature replied, that he had given the morsel to his poor mother, who was sick, and could not eat herrings. Hear this ye pampered slave-holders! contemplate the virtues of this boy; and while you teach your own offspring to follow his example, treat his unfortunate race as human beings!

"The day proving boisterous, we remained all night with the overseer. He described, with much apparent satisfaction, the means he employed to keep his gang under subjection, and the different modes of punishment which he inflicted on them. Some months ago he missed some of his fowls; and being convinced they had been stolen by the slaves, he ordered them all into his presence, charged them with the robbery, and ordered them to point out the perpetrator. This not producing the desired effect, he threatened to flog them all, observing, that by so doing he should get hold of the thief without confession; and he actually put his threat into instant execution. This job, he informed us, occupied the whole day, as he took his leisure, that it might be complete, and serve as a warning in future. Thus, suffered the whole of these innocent, miserable people, by way of punishing one who might have been guilty."—*Janson's Stranger in America.*

The following affecting circumstance is related in a letter from S. G. a minister of the Society of Friends, addressed to his wife, from ———.

"A physician, a man of a tender spirit, said that he was sent for by a slave-holder, to visit one of his negroes. He found the poor patient stretched on a little straw placed on a plank, and covered by a blanket; his pulse seemed throbbing its last, and he was too much exhausted to utter any complaint. The master followed the physician, and began to curse and swear at the dying man; telling him, that as soon as he recovered he should be severely flogged, for having, by his own folly, caught his sickness by attending night meetings. He was proceeding in his violent language, when the physician checked his rage, by informing him that the poor fellow could not live many minutes. The master was silent, when the dying slave collecting all the remains of his strength, by a last effort said: 'Glory be to thee, O my God! who art now taking my soul to thyself, having redeemed it!'—and instantly expired."—*Genius of Universal Emancipation.*

FLOGGING, &C.

A person who resided in the Island of Mauritus in 1820, saw two slaves brought out to be punished on a plantation where he was. They were laid flat on their bellies, extended on a wooden beam, to which they were fastened, while two men held their hands, and two their legs; and a driver, who struck alternately, was placed on each side of the sufferer. One hundred and twenty lashes were inflicted on each. A few days afterwards, having occasion to go to the room, used as an hospital, he saw their two dead bodies laid out. Their wounds were putrid, and sent forth a rank smell. He afterwards saw them carried out, tied up in mats, to the burial ground.

In the same island, a blacksmith, named Rocan, sent a slave a journey of twenty miles, and on his return put him to blow the bellows. The slave having fasted for nearly twenty-four hours, besought his master for something to eat. Instead of supplying him with food, his master beat him with great violence, and with the blow of an iron bar laid open his skull and killed him. It was attempted to excuse this enormity, by saying that the slave died, or would have died of hunger. The same blacksmith chained one of his slaves to the bellows, and frequently struck him with the hot iron from the forge. The poor slave was covered with scars and wounds, inflicted in this manner.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

The Reporter of the Protector of Slaves of Berbice, from November, 1826, to November, 1827, contains the following amongst numerous other cases:—

A slave named Brandy, belonging to J. H. Rawlins, of Plantation Woodlands, having been twice flogged by the driver, complained to his master, who thereupon horse-whipped, and drove him away. The slave then complained to a magistrate, who sent him back to his master for a pass. His master gave him a pass, but not till he had called the driver, and had him again tied down and flogged. The result of this case may prove an encouragement to the advocates of the negro cause. The master was fined under the provisions of the Order in Council; which orders have undoubtedly been issued in consequence of the strong expression of public feeling by the people of England.

A slave boy eleven years of age, named Johnson, was hired to Mr. Sherburne, the

Barrack-master. He presented himself to the Protector, with a chain locked round one foot, to which a weight was attached, and which he had had on day and night, more than a week. He complained that the chain hurt his leg; and that Mr. Sherburne had flogged him that morning with a leathern whip.

Five slaves, the property of James Blair, Esq. complained that not having ginned the required quantity of cotton, they were, by order of the manager, R. Nicholson, stripped perfectly naked, and each received twenty-five lashes, in the presence of many women. At the same time, another slave, having objected to work on account of an injury in his eye, received first, part of his punishment of flogging, and was then fixed in the stocks by both hands and feet, and the board for the hands was drawn up so high, that he was raised from the seat, and the whole weight of his body left suspended, Whilst in this intolerable situation, he begged the overseer to intercede for him: he said, "No, the manager will be angry;" and the sufferer remained in this state sixteen minutes.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

ABDUHL RAHHAHMAN.

Extracts from an account communicated by a gentleman of Natchez, (Miss.) of an individual who offered himself as an emigrant to the colony of Liberia, on the coast of Africa, Dec. 13th, 1827.

"I address you on behalf of an unfortunate man, a native of Africa, who has been held in slavery in this state for thirty-nine years, whom we familiarly call Prince. His real name is Abduhl Rahhahman. He was born in 1762, at Tombuctoo, where his uncle Abu-Abrahim, was at that time king. The father of Prince was sent out as governor to Footah Jollo. Prince, after completing his education, entered the army, and at the age of twenty-six was appointed to the command of about 2000 men, to be employed against the Hebohs, a tribe of negroes at the north of Footah Jallo. He marched into their country, succeeded in putting them to flight, laid waste their towns, and commenced a retreat. The Hebohs however, rallied, and ambushed themselves in a narrow defile of the mountains through which Prince was to pass. He fell into the snare, and with almost his entire army, was made prisoners, and sold to the Mandingoes, and by them put on board a slave ship. Prince has been the property of Colonel James F., of this place, during his whole captivity. Colonel F. states, that he has never known him intoxicated—never detected him in dishonesty or falsehood—nor has he known him guilty of a mean action; and though born and raised in affluence, he has submitted to his fate without a murmur, and has been an industrious and faithful servant.

Dr. C. a highly distinguished physician of this place, knew Prince intimately at Teembo, in Footah Jallo. He was taken by Prince to his own house, where during a long and painful illness of the disease peculiar to that climate, he was treated with kindness and humanity. They were recognised by each other in this country, and Prince now relates their first meeting here as deeply affecting. Exertions were made by Dr. C. to emancipate him—from causes inexplicable to me, it was never effected. Prince now has a numerous offspring. At my own request he often visits me. He is extremely modest, polite, and intelligent. I have frequently examined him in the geography of his own and contiguous countries; their political condition, religion, &c. His knowledge is accurate to the minutest degree, so far as I have compared it with the best authorities. He was educated, and perhaps is still, nominally, a Mohammedan. I have conversed with him much upon this subject, and found him friendly disposed towards the Christian religion. He is extremely anxious for an Arabic Testament. He has heard it read in English, and admires its precepts. His principal objection is, that christians do not follow them. His reasoning upon this subject is pertinent, and to our shame, is almost unanswerable. I can only remind him of the fallibility of man, and endeavor to show him the necessity of the great atonement, and of the mercy of God through Christ to erring man.

"The father of Prince died soon after the capture of his son. His brother succeeded to the throne, and I believe, is the present reigning monarch. Prince states, that he himself is entitled to the throne—but he has no wish to enter again the bustle of public life. Many years of servitude have entirely subdued his ambition for power. He will be happy—he speaks to me upon this subject with a countenance beaming with joy—if he can return to his native country, live the friend of the white man, and die in the land of his fathers.

"Col. F. is ready to give him up without an equivalent. I have explained to Prince the object of the establishment at Liberia. He speaks with gratitude of the benevolent design; and taking into view the very short distance between that place and his own country, he feels assured he can be of very great service to that colony.

"Is it impossible—is it improbable—that Abduhl Rahhahman may become the chief pioneer of civilization to unenlightened Africa? that armed with the Bible, he may be foremost of that band of pilgrims, who shall roll back the mighty waves of darkness and superstition, and plant the cross of the Redeemer upon the furthermost mountains of Kong?"—*African Repository.*